

Absentativity in Penobscot

Conor McDonough Quinn
quinn@fas.harvard.edu

Harvard University

I. Introduction

- Reporting on the absentative (prioritive, inaccessible; Goddard 1979a,b, Pentland 2000a,b) in Penobscot, an Eastern Abenaki dialect of central Maine.
- Discussion of form and function (sects. II & III) limited here so as to better cover *absentative conjunct* and *absentative locative* analysis (IV); which leads to a tentative suggestion towards the solution of certain historical reconstruction problems for the E. Algonquian absentative and subjunctive (V)

II. Form

Absentative affixes (Penobscot)

	singular	plural	obv. singular	obv. plural
animate	-a, -əka¹	-əkak	-əkai	-əka
inanimate	-e	-əkai		

Non-absentative affixes (Penobscot)

	singular	plural	obv. singular	obv. plural
animate	∅	-ak, -ok, -ik	-al, -ol, -il	-a, -o, -ihı
inanimate	∅	-al, -ol, -il		

-an outgrowth (or rather “ingrowth”) of the “peripheral” endings (hence partial fusion w/ anim., num, obv.)

Absentative demonstratives

ANIMATE	singular	plural	obv. singular	obv. plural
proximal	owəka	owəkik	owekal	oweka
distal	nəka	nəkik	nekal	neka
supradistal	ıyəka	ıyəkik	[unattested]	[unattested] ²

INANIMATE	singular	plural
proximal	weke	wekal³
distal	neke	nekal
supradistal	ıyeke	ıyekal

Non-Absentative demonstratives

ANIMATE	singular	plural	obv. singular	obv. plural
proximal	owa	ıyokik	ıyolil	ıyohı
distal	na	nıkik	nilil	nihı
supradistal ⁴	ıya	ıyekik	ıyelil	ıyehı

INANIMATE	singular	plural
proximal	ıyo	ıyolil
distal	ni	nilil
supradistal	ıye	ıyelil

Absentative concord is strikingly inconsistent

demonstrative⁵-nominal concord:

- (1) ...**wə́səm kətákoka kətósísənawa.**

wə́səm **kətákoka** **kə-tos-s-ənaw-a**
 because other.ABS.AN 2-daughter-dim-1pl-ABS.AN

‘...because of our other little deceased daughter.’ (**mǎlkohk:13**)

demonstrative-nominal lack of concord:

- (2) **kśipa, ni wa nəmóhsomsa, kči-ačəssahtəke, ...**

kśipa **ni** **wa** **nə-mohsoməhs-a,** **kəht-ačəssahtəke**
 so.you.see then this.AN 1-[grandfather]-ABS.AN great-[dragonfly]

‘So you see, at that time my dead grandfather, Old Dragon Fly, ...’

nominal-verb lack of concord (here of contextually identical referents):

- (3) **məsitte nəkihkonəkak, məsitte səkəkəkəkakhasolətəwak.**

məsitte **nəkəhko-n.e-[w]-ək.ak**
 all=EMP entirely-die.?AN-W-ABS.ANpl

məsitte **səkəkəkəkak-has-t-[w]-ələt.t-[w]-ak**
 all=EMP to.pieces-squishy.mass-[change.quickly.?AN]-W-[[xpl.?AN]]-W-ANpl

‘They all died, they all tore to squishy bits.’ (Speck:**kənawəs#2**; my gloss)

verb-nominal lack of concord common:

- (4) **na sénəpe welámahtəł, méhčina.**

na **sénəpe** **[e]-wəl-am.ah.t.aw-t** **məht-n.e-[w]-a.**
 that.AN [man] C-good-behave.caus.T.?AN-ANcj end-suffer.?AN-W-ABS.AN

‘that man who was kind, died’ (S:72:104)

- (5) **nəyo ehtahsí-sikak, pečihlote awikəwəmək, wənisəwihətīčil mehčinekal.**

ni yo **[e].htahs-sik.an-k** **pet-hl.ə-t-e** **a-wikəwəmək**
 so this.IN C.every-spring.?IN-INcj arrive-go.?AN-ANcj-ABS.IN 3-house-LOC

wənis-əw.t-hətī.t-ł **məht-n.e-[w]-ək.al**
 3-two-W.?AN-pl.ANcj-obv end-suffer.?AN-W-ABS.obv

‘So every spring, when he arrived at his house, his wife was dead.’
 (**kəsihlət** (G.D., revised version):1; my gloss)

only clear case:⁶ concord btw transferee argument wətəpe ‘h/her head (abs.)’ & verb |-ələmahke| ‘throw away’:

- (6) **ən ni, eli-sánikit, eləmáhkete wətəpe.**

ən ni **[e]-əl-sanik.t-t** **[e]-ələm-əhk.e-t-e** **wətəpe**
 well then C-in...way-[blow.nose].?AN-ANcj C-away-throw.?AN-ANcj-ABS.IN 3-head-ABS.IN

‘Well then, as he blew his nose he popped off [*lit.* threw away] what had been his head.’ (**énikəss:6**)

- note: fewer chances for v-n concord attestation, b’c periph. abs. is, well, absent in conj, subord., ANpat forms

- verbal concord seems only consistently attested on verbs with “inherently absentative” semantics?

(7) *sleep:*

a. **kawosána.**⁷

kaw.i-[w]-əsahan-a
sleep.?_{AN}-W-SAN-ABS.AN

‘Oh! he is asleep; so he is asleep’

b. **kawosánikak.**

kaw.i-[w]-əsahani-ək.ak
sleep.?_{AN}-W-SAN-ABS.ANpl

‘Oh! they (2) are asleep; so they are asleep’ (S:74:41)

(8) *death:*

nəyo ehtahsı-sıkkak, pečihlote awikəwamək, wənısəwihətıčıl mehčinekal.

nı yo [e].htahs-sıkk.an-k
so this.IN C.every-spring.?_{IN}-INcj

pet-hl.α-t-e
arrive-go.?_{AN}-ANcj-ABS.IN

a-wikəwam-ək
3-house-LOC

wə-nıs-əw.i-hətı.t-ıl
3-two-W.?_{AN}-pl.ANcj-obv

meh-t.n.e-[w]ək.al
end-suffer.?_{AN}-W-ABS.obv

‘So every spring, when he arrived at his house, his wife was dead.’ (**késihlot** (G.D.rev. v.):1; my gloss)

(9) *disappearance:*

ənsətte mánəna, wanıhləwələtokak.⁸

ənsα-tte
truly=EMP

manəna
as.if

wan-hl.α-w-ələt.i-[w]-ək.ak
lost-go.?_{AN}-W-[xpl.?_{AN}]-W-ABS.ANpl

“‘In fact it seems they disappeared at some previous time.’” (**nekawakáməssək ahotenáyike:4**)

(10) **nə kčikikilahsəwal⁹ wətihlan, “tan nsisək?” wətihləkon, “tıhtəkəlı¹⁰ wətələmıptone.”**

nı **[kčikikilahso]-al**
then chickadee-obv

wə-ıhl.α-əne
3-tell.dir._{AN}-N

tan **n-sisək**
where 1-eye

wə-ıhl.ək-əne
3-[tell].inv._{AN}-N

tıhtəkəlı
great.horned.owl

wə-ələm-p.t.aw-əne-e
3-away-[snatch].T.?_{AN}-N-ABS.IN

‘Then he said to Chickadee, “Where is my eye?” Then (Chickadee) said to him, “Great Horned Owl took it (away).”’
(Speck:12 (my gloss))

(11) **nə petakəhak epáhstəke, ahα, n’wəsəkhikətahın skowtam, n’wəpakahaton, wətələmı-kəs[s]ıhatone¹¹ toləpe wəpeskəfiatı.**

nı **[e]-pet-akəh.an-k¹²**
then C-arrive-[float].?_{IN}-INcj

epəhs-əhtək-e
half-river-E

ahα **nı**
yes then

wə-səkh-kətah.i-əne
3-into.view-[jump].?_{AN}-N

askowtam **nı**
trout then

wə-pake-ha.t.aw-əne
3-bite-[change].T.?_{AN}-N

wə-ələm-kəs-ha.t.aw-əne-e
3-away-swallow-[change].T.?_{AN}-N-ABS.IN

toləpe **wə-peskawah-ətı**
turtle 3-[burst]-device

‘When it had floated halfway across the river, yes, then a trout jumped into view, then he bit it, he swallowed up Turtle’s gun.’
(Speck:15)

- the above forms in addition demonstrate Penobscot conflation of Cree/Fox (Pentland 2000) inaccessible vs. (strict) absentative distinction to a single paradigm (=“unavailable”?)

III. Usage

- (12) *Animate:*
- a. **wəmə́h̄somsəkəl** ‘h/her deceased grandfather’, pl. **wəmə́h̄somsəka**
(cf. **wəmə́h̄somsəl** ‘h/her grandfather; h/her stepfather’)
- b. **nəkətək̄a** ‘my former/lost knee’,¹³ pl. **nəkətək̄okal** (cf. **nəkətək̄** AN ‘my knee’)
- (13) *Inanimate:*
- a. **nsísək̄e** ‘my former/lost eye’, pl. **nsísək̄okal** (cf. **nsísək̄** IN ‘my eye’)
- b. **ntáwək̄e** ‘my former/lost ear’, pl. **ntáwək̄okal** (cf. **ntáwək̄** IN ‘my ear’)

-can be physically present, but discursively unavailable (as in presentative colloc. [dem.] +=**tahk**)

- (14) **naste wətələm̄i-kíp̄ihl̄α-əne wəp̄-as̄k̄; p̄ih̄tes elihl̄ot, wək̄atahk**
čitanáh̄k̄ihaso, mehč̄ine.

n̄i=aste then=also	wət-ələm̄-kíp̄-ihl̄.α-əne 3-away-fall.over-go.? _{AN} -N	wəp̄-as̄k̄ white-bear	p̄ih̄te-s foam-dim	[e]-əl-ihl̄.α-t C-in...manner- go.? _{AN} -ANcj
wək̄a=tahk this. _{AN} .abs=DEIC	čitan-oh̄k̄-has.ɪ-[w] stiff-stick-sudden.change.? _{AN} -W	meht-n.e-[w] exhausted-suffer.DO _{AN} -W		

‘Immediately Whitebear toppled over (away); when Foam went there, there he (Whitebear, absentative) was, stiff, he was dead.’

(Speck:240:**p̄ih̄tes**; transcription, phrase breaks, and translation mine)

-can be dead/absent but not absentative:

- (15) **mēk̄ak wək̄is̄i-kəmotən̄otámə̄n̄α, nətákit̄enom,**
na nək̄əč̄i-kisóh̄si.

mēk̄e-ak Mohawk-ANpl	wə-k̄is̄-kəmotən̄.e-m.t.am-əne-əw̄α 3-perf.-[steal].? _{AN} -M.T.? _{AN} -N-≠1pl
nə-ak̄it̄ən-əm̄ 1-[canoe]-M	na nək̄ət-kisoh̄s-ɪw̄i. ? one-month-IWI

‘The Mohawks stole my canoe one month ago.’ (S:60:8:#21)

- (16) **k̄enok̄ àk̄a nih̄k̄ap̄, àht̄α p̄əm̄-əw̄əs̄i-w̄i, owa k̄č̄i-sak̄əmə̄,**
əp̄átehtek.

kenok̄=āk̄a but=QT	nihk̄ap̄ now	àht̄α not	p̄əm̄-əw̄.əs̄.ɪ-w̄-[w] along-live.rflx.? _{AN} -NEG-W
owa this.AN	k̄əht-sak̄əmə̄ great-leader	[e]-əpat.e-(w)-əht.e-k C-lean.? _{IN} -(W)-sit.? _{IN} -INCj	

‘But now the great chief, The Leaner, was not alive.’ (**əp̄átehtek:13**)

Extant vs. non-extant absentatives?

-data is rather unclear (a few examples from PD ms., none in text)

- (17a) **nətɔl** IN ‘my watercraft, boat, canoe’, pl. **nətɔlɔl**
prior. (still in existence):
nətɔləwe ‘my former canoe (lost, missing, sold, stolen)’, pl. **nətɔləkɔl**
prior.: (no longer in existence):
nətɔle ‘my former canoe’, pl. **nətɔləkɔl**
- (17b) **nətápasim** AN ‘my tree’
prior.: (in existence):
nətápasima, pl. **nətápasiməkik**¹⁴
prior.: (not in existence):
nətápasiməka¹⁵, pl. **nətápasiməkak**
- (17c) **əttólhəwe** AN ‘sleeveless body garment or wrap (made of hide), stole; shirt’
prior.: (still in existence):
nətəttólhəwa AN ‘my former...’, pl. **nətəttólhəwəkak**
nətəttólhəwénokak AN ‘our former...[pl.]’
wətəttólhəwəwəka AN ‘their former...[pl.]’
prior.: (no longer in existence):
nətəttólhəwəka AN ‘my former...’ pl. **nətəttólhəwəkak**
nətəttólhəwénokak AN ‘our former...[pl.]’
wətəttólhəwəwəka AN ‘their former...[pl.]’
- (17d) **nətáhtəpi** AN ‘my bow’
prior.: (still in existence):
nətáhtəpika[k]¹⁶ ‘my former bows’ (no sg. given)
prior.: (no longer in existence):
nətáhtəpəya ‘my former bow, lost bow’, pl. **nətáhtəpikak**
- (17e) **nətáhtəpinawak** AN ‘our bows’
nətáhtəpínokak ‘our former bows (still in existence)’
nətáhtəpínókak ‘our former bows (no longer in existence)’

- at least one clear pattern: **pl. non-extant abs. = marked penult. (s.v.) accent** (cf. default *antepenult* for pl. extant abs.)¹⁷
others: special marking sg. (|-əw-|, |-ək-|) is unclear, re extant~non-extant.¹⁸
- PD notes rather explicitly absentative extant~non-extant contrast; but details remain murky.

IV. Is there an absentative conjunct? An absentative locative?

- traditional Algonquianist “subjunctive” = conj. + |-e|¹⁹

(18) **kahsihpótoke, kətəli-námih-ton, kəkəkówimən.**

kəhs-hpo.t.aw-ke	kə-əl-nam.h.t.aw-əne	kə-kəkəw-m.ə-əne
wipe-[oscillate].T.?AN-ANcj-ABS.IN	2-in...way-[see].caus.T.?AN-N	2-rough-speak.with.dirAN-N

‘If he erases it, be sure to scold him.’ (S:60:8:17)

- this |-e| is IN absentative singular |-e|; subjunctive = **absentative conjunct**

-other unreachable realis relativizees: collocation with *tan=eht* ‘how + [uncertain]’ = rhetorically “inaccessible” *degree*, e.g.:

“inaccessible” *height*:

- (21) **kkíy†, ní ák̄ač ní owa mkasewi-áləməss, èsk̄a ní eliphə́k̄etəpan, iyótahk ák̄ač iye nihkóni, pemsék̄ihlət wāčo, tən eht espahsek̄ihlök̄k̄e, tekakóp̄ite, iye awépi.**

kkíy **ní-ák̄a-č** **ní owa** **məhk̄asew-ələməss** **esk̄a ní** **[e]-əl-ph.ə́k̄.e-t-əpan**
 ah! then=QT=FUT then this.AN black-[dog] still then C-in...way-[flee].?AN-ANcj-PAN

iyó-tahk-ák̄a-č **iye nihkón-iwí** **[e]-pəm-ahsek-hl.ə-t** **wāčo**
 this.IN=DEIC=QT=FUT yonder in.front-IWI C-along-ledge-go.?AN-ANcj mountain

tən=eht **[e]-asp-ahsek-hl.ə-w-t-e** **[e]-takak-əp.i-t-e** **iye awep-iwí**
 how=UNC C-along-ledge-go.?AN-NEG-ANcj-ABS.IN C-ending.at...-look.?AN-ANcj-ABS.IN up-IWI

‘Ah! Consequently while the black dog had been in pursuit, here behold, at a distance ahead a mountain would rise precipitously, so that to whatever heights its crags might extend, to yonder place above was as far as he could look.’ (msáhtawe:18)

- (**tən eht**) **espahsek̄ihlök̄k̄e** ‘however high its ledges might (*not*²⁴) go’;
 - **tekakóp̄ite**. ‘as far as he could look’²⁵
- abs. gives narrative emphasis on an fantastically unreachable height

“inaccessible” *height*: *exaggerative emphasis on the size of mound[tain!] of meat a cannibal giant is wolfing down*:

- (22) **kkíy†, kám̄ač ák̄a kakáwihpo, t̄áneht espatə́nhlök̄k̄e, yol k̄pakék̄əsikanal...**

kkíy **kám̄ač-ák̄a** **kakaw-hp.i-[w]**
 ah! very=QT rough-eat.?AN-W

tən=eht **[e]-asp-atən.e-hl.ə-?w-k-e**
 how=UNCT C-high-mountain.?IN-go.?IN-?NEG-INCj-ABS.IN

yol **kəhpak-ek-əs-k.an-al**
 these.INpl thick-sheet-cut-generic.NM-INpl

‘Ah! He really ate with gusto, how much those thick slices formed a heap...’ (k̄síl̄həpe:6)

-gemination? (phonologically similar) negation? (since would normally expect |ənokke)

“unreachable” *extent of effort* = ‘no matter how...’:

- (23) **t̄ənəp̄eht elalóhk̄ete, nətáht̄atte wəpək̄ahsanoh̄táwəwəyal.**

tən=pa=eht **[e]-əl-əlohk.e-t-e**
 how=POT=UNC C-in...way-work.?AN-ANcj-ABS.IN

nətáht̄a-tte **wə-pək̄ā-ahsan.i-ht.aw.ə-w-[w]-al**
 not=EMP 3-effectively-power.?AN-[caus].towards.dirAN-NEG-W-obv

‘No matter what he did, he never matched him in power.’ (msáhtawe:23)

- a rather common collocation in Penobscot narratives; again fits pattern of

init.ch. + cj (for realis event/degree) + **absentative** (for unreachable/infinite sense)

= the *no matter* of ‘no matter what/how...’.

- Note:** two forms in (20) do not overtly and unambiguously demonstrate initial change, but
- 2 two points support ch.subjunctive:
 - (1) glosses don't fit the conditional/counterfactual sense of unchanged conj.
 - (2) (for what it's worth) Siebert field notes independently explicitly label as "changed subjunctives"
 - *limited. distribution of unambiguous initial change + limited corpus = jury still out*
 - ---however, all available evidence is consistent with and expected from the absentative conjunct model as applied to changed subjunctives

An absentative (conjunct?) etymology for ččike 'when?'

(24) ččikeč mīna kənámihol.´

ččike=č
when=FUT

mīna
again

kə-nam.h.əl-əp
2-see.caus.2pat-P

'When will I see you again?'

(S.D.:38)

(25) ččike əpKátehte.´

ččike
when

əpK-ət.e-(w)-aht.e-w
open-?.?IN-(W)-sit.?IN-W

'When is it open?'

(S.D.:100)

Partial solution: if interrogative 'when?' by definition refers to a time non-immediate/non-available to the speaker, then absentative |e| at the end of ččike makes sense, even more so if /-k-/ preceding |e| is an old IN conjunct²⁶ form of putative *|ahčt|. ^{27,28}

Cross-linguistic parallels: morphologically compositional 'if' in Somali and Tsou

Somali háddii 'if'

- "non-remote" vs. "remote" definite article distinction:

(26) a. náag-ta 'the woman (non-remote)' nín-ka 'the man (non-remote)'
 b. náag-tii 'the woman (remote)' nín-kii 'the man (remote)'

(ad. from Saeed 1999:(114))

Saeed 1999:112: "If the referent of the noun is distant from the speaker, or is in the past, the remote forms *kii/tii* are used; the article *ka/ta* is unmarked spatially, and is used for referents temporally located in the present and future."

- **remote definite article: 'past', 'distant' semantics = nearly exactly definition of absentative**

key observation (Saeed 1999:222):

- fem. noun *hád* 'moment, point in time; case, instance' + **(fem.) remote article -tii**
 = head of Somali conditional clauses...i.e. *háddii* = 'if...':

(27) *Háddii aad furaysaan albaabka, dirin igu duuduuba ee i tiiriya.*

Had-d-ii

aad

fur-ay-saan

albaab-ka

dirin

<u>time-the.F-RMT</u>	2	open-PRG-2pl.SUB	door-the.M	dirin
<i>i-ku</i>	<i>duuduub-a</i>	<i>ee</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>tiiriya-a.</i>
1.ACC-with...	wrap-2pl.IMPR	and	1.ACC	[make.stand.up]-2pl.IMPER

‘If you [*pl*] open the door, wrap me up in a *dirin* [*a kind of mat*] and stand me up.’”
 (adapted from SCS:*Gabadhii Caqliga Badnayd*; accents omitted)

-> Somali = another case of a distancing morpheme + subordinator²⁹ = ‘if...’ (= *cj*+*abs* in Penobscot)

Tsou hoci ‘if’

- prenominal *ne* ‘realis’ and *ho* ‘irrealis’ (Ya-yin Melody Chang, p.c. 2003)
- they distinguish realis ‘yesterday’ and irrealis ‘tomorrow’:

(28) a. *ne hucma* ‘yesterday’
 b. *ho hucma* ‘tomorrow’ (ad. from Wang et al.:42)

hucma = lit. ‘a day from now [w/ temporal direction unspecified]’

- ***ho* ‘irrealis’ seems to form part of *hoci* = Tsou ‘if’ element:**

(29) *hoci* *cuma na i-ko* *ɔmn.ɔa,* *naho ea-a*
if what Nom NAF-2S like-PF please take-PF
 ‘If you like anything, please take it’ (adapted from Chang 2000:16:(45a))

2nd element in *hoci* = Tsou subordinating element *ci* (occurs post- or pre-clausally):
 (post-clausal = restrictive, a pre-clausal = non-restrictive)

(30) a. *o-h-’u-cu* *ait-i* ‘o *o-h-si* *tpos-i* *to pasuya ci tpos.ɔ*
 NAF-Rea-1S-Perf see-PF Nom NAF-Rea-3S write-PF Obl Pasuya CI book

b. *o-h-’u-cu* *ait-i* ‘o *tpos.ɔ* ci *o-h-si* *tpos-i* *to pasuya*
 NAF-Rea-1S-Perf see-PF Nom book CI NAF-Rea-3S write-PF Obl Pasuya

‘The book that was written by Pasuya was read by me.’ (adp. from Chang 1998:69:(17))

- *hoci* = *ho* ‘irrealis’ + *ci* ‘relativizer’ = Penobscot ***cj*** + ***abs.***, in reverse

Directive locative: an absentative locative?

Penobscot reflex of Proto-Algonquian locative *-*enki*³⁰ is **|-ək|**:

(31) **məkɪhkanək** ‘at the fish hook; Magegunuck [=] Portland, Maine.’ (cf. **məkɪhkan** IN ‘fish hook’) (PD:273)

- **|-əke|** = “directive locative” (PD:); prim. indicates the goal towards which a motion is directed:

(32) a. **mənətən** IN ‘hillock, knoll, hill, large mound’
 b. **mənətənok** ‘at/on the hill’
 c. **mənátənoke** ‘towards the hillock, at the hill in the distance’³¹ (PD:275)

(33) a. **míhkəmőkki** IN ‘the Micmac country’
 b. **míhkəmőkkiik** ‘in the Micmac country’
 c. **míhkəmőkkiike** ‘in the Micmac country, toward the Micmac country’ (PD:278)

- *directive locative* **|-əke|** = *plain locative* **|-ək|** + **|-e|**
again: this **|-e|** = IN absentative singular morpheme **|-e|**

Semantic arguments for dir. loc. to be abs. loc.:

- “directive” meaning fits that of the absentative: a location viewed as the goal of a direction is by definition inaccessible, absent from the present/local point of reference
- similative extension of dir. loc. also fits absentative semantics:

(34) **kāmāč āka kīnāpto, ānsα āka ēlōwe awéhsōhsōke, ālāpto.**

kāmāč=āka very=QT	kīn-āp.t.āw-[w] big-[track].T.? _{AN} -W	ānsα=āka truly=QT
ēlōwe almost	awéhsōhs-ōk.e bear-LOC-ABS.IN	āl-āp.t.āw-[w] in...way-[track].T.? _{AN} -W

‘He made very large footprints, in fact he left tracks of a kind almost like a bear’s.’ (wəslkəkkehs:8)³²

(35) **...kāmāč āka, wa āwen, kīnāpto, mehč ākēht ākāmāke, atōtāpto.**

kāmāč=āka very=QT	wa this.AN	āwen someone	kīn-āp.t.āw-[w] big-[track].T.? _{AN} -W
mehč=āka=eht approx.=QT=UNC	ākām-ōk.e snowshoe-LOC-ABS.IN	atōt-āp.t.āw-[w] to...degree-[track].T.? _{AN} -W	

‘...this person made a big track, comparable to the size of a snowshoe, so great was the footprint made’
(Ksilāpe:2)

- “directive” <-> “similative”: *approaching, nearing...* (in English similative sense)
...i.e. literal **spatial** motion sense reread/recast as **stative dislocation**
=the gulf between the referent’s actual characteristics, and those of whatever it is likened to:

(36) *With a look approaching absolute disgust, she left.*

- similative **|-ōk-e|** thus derives from abs. not only via directive sense, but also via relationship with ‘if’:
-cf. English similatives in *as if...*, and similar patterns in Penobscot:

(37) **...ānsα mānōna mōtkamīkīhpōteke**

ānsα truly	mānōna as.if	mōt-ahkamīk-hpot.e-k.e move-[land]-[oscillate].? _{IN} -INcj-ABS.IN
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‘...in fact it seemed as if the earth trembled.’ (kəloskəpe nāka toləpe#1:10)

- similative **mānōna** ‘as if, like’ matched w/ ‘if’-clause
= **mōtkamīkīhpōteke** ‘if there is earth-trembling’³³
- **assuming absentative~‘if’ semantic relationship, then absentativity underlies both the morphology and the semantics of the directive locative, hence absentative locative.**³⁴

Summary

- subjunctive’s and directive locative’s **|-e|** identified with the IN abs. sg. ending **|-e|**
- justified on internal semantic grounds, from the semantics of extensions therefrom, and from the semantics of the collocations they enter into
- absentative conjunct analysis for ‘if’-clauses (conditional, counterfactual) has direct parallels in other unrelated languages (Somali, Tsou); abs. loc. analysis of dir. loc. has parallels in English

V. The beginnings of a solution for an old PA to PEA problem?

“Less easily explained is the continuation of PA **-e* marking the subjunctive mode as PEA **-ē* (> Unami *-e*, Eastern Abenaki *-e*), or the source of the absentative singular endings PEA **-ā* (anim.) and **-ē* (inan.): Unami *lānuwa* ‘man (absent or dead)’, *mpīye* ‘water (that is all gone)’.” (Goddard 1979:99)

- ...the absentative conjunct analysis hints at a link between PA **-e* subjunctive and PEA **-ē* ‘ABS.IN’
- but exactly what link?

ABBREVIATIONS

[...]	(in morpheme glosses) indicates incompletely parsed morpheme		
1, 2, 3, AN, IN	1 st , 2 nd , 3 rd person, animate, inanimate agreement marker		
1pl	1 st person plural (exclusive, unless otherwise specified via “in” or “ex”)		
≠1pl	non-1 st person plural (i.e. 2 nd or 3 rd person plural)		
dir	direct patient marker: transitive action flowing outward wrt locality		
inv	inverse patient marker: transitive action flowing inward wrt locality		
P	local referent marker -əp 	W	non-local referent marker -[w] ; “initial-izer” -əw
N	 -əne morpheme (multi-functional)	C	initial change (of changed conjunct)
R	reduplication	M	possessive marker -əm ; ??transitive -m (cf. L for similar -l)
T	 -t detransitivizer/nominalizer	?	unglossed morpheme; especially abstract final
IWI	the suffix -i[wi] , a sort of adverbializer	ABS	absentative
obv	obviative	cj	conjunct
unspec	unspecified referent	pat	patient
perf	perfective aspect	caus	causative
xpl	extended-plural (forms AI stems)	POT	potential enclitic
FUT	future enclitic	QT	quotative enclitic
FOC	focus enclitic	EMP	emphatic (intensifying) enclitic
UNC	uncertainty marker (enclitic)	DEIC	deictic enclitic (used primarily in presentatives)
SAN, PAN	apparent evidentials -əsahan and -əpan that seem to indicate something like a dubitative and non-dubitative preterite/anterior respectively; exact usage remains unclear		
NAF	non-agent focus (Tsou)	PF	patient focus (Tsou)
Nom	nominative (Tsou)	Obl	oblique (Tsou)
Rea	realis (Tsou)	S	singular (Tsou)
F	feminine (Somali)	M	masculine (Somali)
RMT	remote (Somali)	SUB	subordinate clause agreement marker (Somali)
ACC	accusative (Somali)	PRG	progressive (Somali)

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¹ See section III for discussion of this variant.

² The attestation gap in this corner of the paradigm is more likely due to a data gap than a genuine paradigmatic one. The overall system suggests ***iyekal** and ***iyeka** respectively as reasonable reconstructions.

³ Following the pattern of other demonstratives, these two forms should also have variants as ***oweke** and ***owekal** respectively, but this is not clearly attested.

⁴ It is interesting to note that the Penobscot supradistals appear to be made from the same morphological material as is Pentland 2000a,b reports for the the Cree and Fox strict absentatives: namely, an [y-] element. Given that this is one rather common vocalic syllable, this is not exactly an ironclad etymology for the Penobscot forms; but I would at least observe that of the three distality ranges (proximal, distal, and supradistal), the supradistal is the one most similar to the absentative, being closest to its “inaccessible” or “distant” sense.

⁵ I have yet to locate examples of absentative concord with numerals or participle conjuncts, which would be expected.

⁶ Below is the only other potential example of full concord that I have been able to locate:

(a)	nəyo ehtaḥsɪ-sɪkək, pečihlote áhtamɔ, wənɪsəwɪhətɪtəkəl—mehčínəkəl			
	nɪ yo	[e].htaḥs-sɪk.an-k	pet-hl.ɔ-t-e	ahtamɔ
	so this.IN	C.every-spring.? _{IN} -INcj	arrive-go.? _{AN} -ANcj-ABS.IN	not[existential?]
	wə-nɪs-əw.ɪ-hətɪ.t-əkəl		meht-n.e-[w]-ək.əl	

³³ A comparable example of simulative element matching absentative conjunct is the following:

(d) ...wətepáhkəɔɔn pótəpəl, akitənək, təhələwəpə ípt, skowtaməwísáne.

wə-tep-əhk.e-l.ə-əne

3-into.vehicle-throw.DO_{AN}-L.dir_{AN}-N

potepe-al

[whale]-obv

akitən-ək

[canoe]-LOC

təhələw=əpə

like=POT

ip-íwí

only-IWI

askowtam-əw.í-t-əsahan-e.

[trout]-W.?_{AN}-ANcj-SAN-ABS.IN

‘...[he] tossed the whale into the canoe as though he were a trout’ (**k. nəkə töləpe#1:6**)

Here the simulative **təhələw** ‘like’ is matched by an absentative conjunct **skowtaməwísáne** ‘if AN were a trout’.

³⁴ A plain locative may be factually inaccessible, but not discursively so. Just as Penobscot can talk about literally dead individuals without explicitly marking them as unavailable, so too non-immediate places can have the same treatment, and thereby take only the plain locative. What is key is that when the notion of is discursively relevant---precisely when direction rather than immediate location is involved---then the inherent sense of non-immediacy forces that forces the presence of an absentative.